



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

VI. — *The Importance of Special Languages in the Study of Vulgar Latin*

BY PROFESSOR ALBERT J. CARNOY

UNIVERSITIES OF LOUVAIN AND PENNSYLVANIA

THE philological literature of recent years has emphasized with complacency the social character of language.

This expression is susceptible of a broader and of a more restricted interpretation. It is quite clear that society is the *sine qua non* condition of the existence of language. To be sure, we may hold with Wundt that in its origins language is individual. The *Naturlaute* in which it is supposed to have originated were merely instinctive exteriorisations of individual states of mind and individual perceptions, but of course such interjections could only be raised to the rank of words with a definite meaning through being consecrated by the consensus of a community. Similarly, in the subsequent history of human speech new metaphors, new derivatives, new forms, etc., though the work of individuals, could not become any regular part of language as long as they were not accepted in the common speech.

In a more restricted meaning, however, the social aspect of language is observable in a close association between social facts, social changes and linguistic evolution. Now, in this respect nothing, probably, is more important than the existence of special languages for special social groups in the midst of a social unit. If, overlooking the existence of dialects, we may say that French is the language of France, of the French social and national unit, we may not forget that the people of France have various professions, various interests, various social distinctions, and that consequently the concepts more frequently expressed and the way of expressing them are apt to be very different in each of those smaller communities inside the greater one. Since in a nation those secondary groups are far from being separated from one another by water-tight walls, the mutual influence of their

special languages is — above all in semantics — an element of the first importance in the history of a national language.

This is a modest attempt to show that in the formation of Vulgar Latin and Romance more attention should be paid to the influence of those special languages. Their action is more peculiarly recognizable in three directions: the acquisition of a restricted and technical meaning by words of the common speech, the enrichment of the general language by the adoption of some technical terms which thus acquire a much more extended meaning, and, last, not least, the introduction of foreign words or new creations which found their way first into some special vocabulary and through them only into the common speech.

As for the first item, it is easy to convince oneself that most of the words which in Romance have a more restricted meaning than in Latin owe this to their use with a peculiar meaning in a special language. Farming especially has exerted a restrictive influence on the use of many a word. Though, for instance, *ponere*, *separare*, *mutare*, *trahere* have preserved in Vulgar Latin their general meanings, they had become for the peasant the regular words for 'laying' eggs, 'weaning,' 'moulting,' 'milking,' respectively, and such a precise technical signification proved at length in several Romance languages to be harmful for their general sense of 'putting,' 'severing,' 'changing,' 'drawing,' which were transferred to other verbs. *Capitale*, the principal property, was for a farmer his cattle, and the word therefore survives with this special sense only in Fr. *cheptel* (= OFr. *chetel*, Pic. *catel* > Eng. *cattle*). A *machina*, 'engine,' cannot be anything else for a peasant than an apparatus for grinding wheat, and consequently It. *macina* is 'mill-stone.' Similarly, *πράττειν* 'do,' 'handle,' is for him 'handle butter,' i.e. 'churn' (It. *barattare* with a voiced initial, as is often the case in Greek borrowings). *Imputare*, 'charge,' similarly means 'graft' (Fr. *enter*). The most common kind of restriction is the designation *par excellence*. In the same way as *corn*, 'cereal,' for an American cannot mean anything but the main cereal of his country, 'maize,' so *granum* in Eastern Romania

is 'wheat' (Rum. *griiŭ*). *Caulis*, 'stalk,' is 'cabbage,' the edible stalk or stump (Fr. *chou*); *arbor* in the north of Italy is 'chestnut' (Lomb. *arbol*); *avica*, 'big bird,' a barbarous derivative from *avicellus* (Fr. *oiseau*), is 'goose'; *pulla*, 'young animal,' is 'hen' (Fr. *poule*); and *pullanus* is 'foal.' While for the Greek peasant of nowadays, his horse is the 'beast' (*ἄλογον*), the shepherds of Italy said *pecora* for 'sheep,' *pecorarius* for 'shepherd,' the Engadinian mountaineers gave that same meaning to *bestia* (Engad. *besha*), and in several Italian dialects *animal* was 'pig' (Regg. *nima*, Engad. *almeri*). By a process of differentiation *vervex* has become 'ewe' (Fr. *brebis*), because *belarius*, 'the bleating,' came to be said of the ram. It is also to the technique of farming that we have to ascribe the disappearance of *secare* in the general meaning 'cut.' It survives in its general sense only in the archaic dialect of Sardinia. Elsewhere it means 'saw' or 'mow,' because this was the cutting *par excellence* for a peasant and took place by means of a toothed sickle. The hunters and fishers have restricted *feto* to the meaning of 'fawn,' and *esca*, 'food,' to that of 'bait' or even 'lobworm' (Fr. *aiche*, Rum. *iască*, Sp. *esca*). That same word evolves in a part of the Romance domain the further meaning of 'bait for fire,' *i.e.* 'tinder' (Sp. *yesca*, Lomb. *liska*).

No less than farmers, physicians contributed in restricting the sense of words, and this generally by a desire for euphemism. Thus, *orbis*, 'deprived,' is for them the *orbis ab oculis* (Rum. *orb*, It. *orbo*, while Fr. *aveugle* is the second part of the expression); *frigora*, 'cold fits,' is a fever in Eastern Romania, while *accessio*, 'approach,' is an attack of fever (Sp. *cicion*, Nap. *accipire*). A medicament was called 'drink,' *potio* (= *potus*, like *mansus* = *mansio*, *cantus* = *cantio*), hence the meaning 'poison' acquired by that harmless word. Medical men were fond of metaphors: *aranea* was for them 'herpes,' *cancer*, a 'canker'; *scrofula*, 'a little sow,' was a piglike, dirty excrescence (Fr. *écrouelles*).

A study of the juridical speech at the end of the Roman Empire would result in a large collection of words used in contracts, trials, etc., with a technical meaning. To this lan-

guage belong apparently *adcaptare*, 'take hold of,' *i.e.* 'buy,' *pacare*, 'appease,' *i.e.* 'pay,' *secundare*, 'treat as second-choice men,' *i.e.* 'challenge' a juror (OFr. *saoner*), *sociare*, 'appropriate,' *i.e.* 'confiscate'¹ (Fr. *saisir*); also *census*, 'tax,' 'rent,' which becomes a 'rented farm,' etc.

It is quite evident that many more examples could be quoted of words which owe their restricted and technical meaning to their adoption by special languages of all kinds. So much suffices, however, to show the importance of these in the semantic evolution. The reverse process, however, is more frequent still. Words with a strictly technical value related to very definite objects or actions have frequently penetrated into the common speech and therefore greatly extended their domain. The process is found in all languages and is, for instance, the most important source of slang. This is the way bowling has provided English with *bias* and *bowl over*, cock-fighting with *crestfallen*, *in high feather*, *crow over*, etc., shipping with *on the stocks*, *wrecked*, *all aboard*, etc.² Latin at all periods was enriched by that same kind of technical slang, which also has greatly influenced the Romance vocabulary.

In that process of extension, farming has once more played an important part. *Satio*, 'sowing,' said first for the sowing season, is now the regular word for 'season.' *Annata*, 'the year's crop' (It. *annata*, 'reaping time,' Niç. *anada*, 'crop of olives'), means simply 'year' in Fr. *année*. The very ancient borrowing from Teutonic, *waidanjan* (O.H.G. *weidenen*),³ 'obtain by cultivation,' 'reap' (Fr. *regain*, 'second crop of grass,' OFr. *gagnage*, 'culture'), at a very early period was used of all kinds of acquisition by one's work, 'to gain.' Prof. L. Wiener⁴ has done much in his recent book on the language of mediaeval documents to show that the French

¹ L. Wiener, *Commentary to the Germanic Laws and Mediaeval Documents*, Cambridge, Mass., 1915, p. 1.

² Numerous examples in Greenough & Kittredge, *Words and their Ways in English Speech*, 55 sqq.

³ According to Dr. Wiener, *op. cit.* 114, this Teutonic word is nothing but the Vulg. Lat. word *vitatum*, 'vineyard,' 'garden.'

⁴ *Op. cit.* 108.

word *bois* (It. *bosco*), of mysterious origin up to now, is a shortening of *arbuscellum*, *buscellum*, a diminutive of *arbus-tum*, 'small tree,' 'plantation of small trees.' Few words had such a humble origin and such an extraordinary fortune. True it is, it underwent a contamination with Gr. *πύξος*, Lat. *buxus*, 'box-tree,' the wood *par excellence* for delicate wood-work, hence *πυξίς*, 'box of boxwood,' and now any kind of box (Fr. *boîte*). *Minari*, 'threaten,' used of the cowboys who actually threatened their cows with a whip in order to drive them, in Vulgar Latin is said of all kinds of 'leading' (Fr. *mener*). The sailors have introduced *adripare*, 'come ashore,' in the general meaning of 'arrive' and *calare*, 'lower sails' (Gr. *χαλᾶν*), in that of 'drop,' 'cease' (It. *calare*, Prov. *calar*).

The trades have naturally given much, as *tornare*, 'work with the lathe' (Gr. *τόρνος*), is in Vulg. Lat. 'turn'; *colare*, 'sift through a *colum*' ('silken sieve'), is now said of any motion of a liquid (Fr. *couler*); *trabaculum*, derived from *trabs*, 'beam,' like *tenaculum* (Fr. *tenaille*) from *tenere*, is a carpenter's or smith's instrument (Fr. *travail*, 'instrument for shoeing a horse'), but gradually *travailler* was said of any kind of work; *trabicare*, 'to bore with a pointed beam,' is in French, *trouer*, said of any kind of boring and digging. *Cambiare*, 'chop and change,' came to replace *mutare*; *tropare*, 'make variations on a liturgical theme (*τρόπος*),' from music entered poetry (OFr. *trouvère*) and soon was said of any find whatever (Fr. *trouver*); *tutari*, 'protect,' 'cover,' was said of covering the fire so as to smother it, and now in Fr. *tuer* is said of any kind of killing, while, vice-versa, *admorire*, 'put to death,' was specialized in the meaning 'kill the fire.'

Magic has literally invaded the people's language: *augurium*, 'omen,' is 'happiness,' in OFr., *eür*, hence Fr. *bonheur*, *malheur*, *heureux*, It. *sciagurato* (*exauguratus*), Prov. *aurat*; *abominatus* survives in OFr. *abomé*, 'unfortunate.' The influence of stars is recognizable in OProv. *astruc*, 'happy,' Fr. *malotru*, 'wretched, uneducated fellow,' It. *disastro*, Prov. *malastre*, *benastre*, Sp. *astroso*, 'unhappy,' OVenet. *asira* (*assideratus*), 'wretched.' The influence of fate is recognizable in *malefatus* (Fr. *mauvais*), which now simply

means 'evil,' 'bad.' Divination has produced Sp. *dicha*, 'luck' (= *dicta*, 'things predicted'), *adventura*, 'adventure,' properly 'things to come' (Fr. *bonne aventure*), OSp. *auze*, 'fate,' Port. *avesi bõo*, 'happy,' from *a b c*, because the alphabet was used for divination. Sp. *aziago*, 'ominous' is the *Aegyptiaca dies*, or the day influenced by Eastern magic.

Quite a special case of transmission is the penetration of a language by nursery words. In the same way as the word *infans*, 'baby,' has been extended to the whole childhood (Fr. *enfant*, 'child'), the children and their mothers are apt to continue beyond the nursery years the use of babble-words and imitative expressions. In this way the centripetal words *amma*, *mamma* (Rum. *îma*, Sp. *ama*, Fr. (*t*)*ante* (*amita*)) have replaced *mater*, *avuncula*, etc., and extended their domain so far as to produce Sp. *mammula*, 'maid,' It. *mammolo*, 'boy.' *Nonna*, which belongs to the same class, was used for the nurse (Skr. *nanā*, 'mother'), and became a title of affection and respect applied to the respectable women of the congregation, the 'nuns,' just in the same way as *πάππας* became the title of a bishop, especially of the pope. The father was called *pappa* or *babbus* (It. *babbo*, Sard. *babbu*) or *barba*, 'beard,' a word which became so regular an appellative that it was declined on the type of *nonna*, *nonnanis* (It. dial. *barbano*, *barba*). Other nursery words are *bau*, 'ugly,' which was used for beetles (Piem. *boya*, 'caterpillar,' Log. *bobboi*, 'bug,' Prov. *baboru*, 'louse'), *babare*, 'foam' (Fr. *bave*), *baffare*, 'eat much' (Fr. *bâfrer*), *pappare*, 'eat' (It. *pappare*), *beffare*, 'mock,' *afannare*, 'toil,' etc. Moreover, imitative words of the so-called 'waw-waw' type are abundant: *toccare*, 'touch,' *batare*, 'open the mouth,' 'pay attention,' *craccare*, 'spit,' *clliccare*, 'crack,' *ciurlare*, 'scream like an owl,' *jumpare*, 'jump,' *pipio*, 'pigeon,' *pincio*, 'finch,' *coccus*, 'cock,' *zinzalus*, 'mosquito.' No doubt some infantile speech contributed also to the multiplication of diminutives in Vulgar Latin, though other causes helped in that process: *aviolus* (Fr. *aïeul*), *fratellus* (It. *fratello*), *gemellus* (Fr. *jumeau*), *pullicella* (Fr. *pucelle*), *genuclum* (It. *ginocchio*), *auricula* (Fr. *oreille*), *asellus*

(Germ. *Esel*), *aucellus* (Fr. *oiseau*), *sucula*, 'pig,' hence *suculare*, 'soil,' etc.

All these examples illustrate the creative power of the special languages. In this, of course, they help much to the enrichment of the general language, but they do so still more by being the vehicle which transfers words from one language into another. The vocabulary of the common speech suffices fairly well to express ideas common to the mass of the collectivity. In the various professions, trades, sports, sciences, etc., on the contrary, new concepts are unceasingly added to the previous stock in proportion with the progress of the various lines of human ability and knowledge. In some collectivity the progress is quicker, and the concepts are named there before they are known in the other group of persons, who then very naturally borrow the idea with the name that it has already received. This explains, of course, why Latin science, being nothing but an adaptation of Greek scholarship, has a Greek terminology. The same may be said of philosophy, rhetoric, and other lines of study. But this applies in the same proportion to trades, and the consequence is that Vulgar Latin, being often the language of workmen and artisans, contains many more Greek and other foreign words than literary Latin. All kinds of manufactured objects of every-day life have foreign names, just as in English the names of clothes, for instance, are extremely heterogeneous: *cap*, e.g. is from Lat. *cappa*, *jacket* from Fr. *jacquet* from *jacques*, 'soldier'; *flannel* is a Welsh word; *gauze* seems to be the name of Gaza in Egypt; *taffeta* is Pers. *tāfta*, 'woven'; *breeches* is Gaul. *braca(e)*; *trousers* is from Fr. *trousses* (Gr. *θύρσος*); *cuff* is Teutonic and akin to Fr. *coiffe*; *silk* is Lat. *sericum* from the Σῆψ (Chinese?), etc.

Thus practically every element of a Latin home bears a Greek name. A passage was an ἀνδρῶν (It. *landrone*), a porch a πρόθυρον (OFr. *prosne*),⁵ the floor ὄστρακον (It. *lastrico*, OFr. *aistre*), i.e. 'earthen-ware'; a cellar was a κατώγειον (Calab. *katoyu*) or a κρυπτή (It. *grotta*), a room a καμάρα, 'vault,' the corners and closets κᾶνθοι from Gr. κᾶνθος, 'corner of the

⁵ Meyer-Lübke, *Rom. etym.* Wtb. 508.

eye' (It. *cantone*, *cantina*), the store-room an ἀποθήκη (It. *bottega*). There were bottles (φυλάξεις, hence It. *flasca*), cups (φιάλαι, It. *fiala*, Fr. *fiolle*), jugs (βανκάλεις, It. *boccale*), basins (κοτύλαι, It. *ciotola*), cups (κρατήρες, OFr. *graal*), vessels (ἀμφορῆς, *ampulla*), spoons (καῦκαι, Rum. *cauc*), jugs (βροχίς, It. *brocca*, Fr. *broc*). Other receptacles were κάλαθοι, 'vase-shaped baskets' (Eng. *kotan*), πυξίδες, 'boxes of box-wood' (Fr. *boîte*), κόφινοι, 'baskets' (Fr. *coffre*), θήκαι, 'cases' (It. *teca*, Fr. *taie*), θύλακοι, 'bags' (Sp. *talega*), βύρσαι, 'leather bags.' In the furniture were καθέδραι (Fr. *chaire*, *chaise*), τάπητες (Fr. *tapis*), λαμπάδες (Fr. *lampe*), with μύκαι (Fr. *mèche*), ὀρολόγια (It. *orologio*). On the table were spoons (κοχλιάδες), platters (πλάθανα, Abruzz. *pratene*), etc.

Among objects of daily use were χόρδαι, 'strings' (Fr. *corde*), μέταξι, 'raw silk' (It. *matassa*), στρόφοι, 'straps' (Fr. *étrope*), καλύπτραι, 'hats' (It. *calotta*). In the kitchen, βούτυρον ('cow-cheese') was said for 'butter,' χρίσμα for 'grease' (Fr. *crème*), ἄμυλον was 'starch' (It. *amido*). The writing implements, of course, were all Greek: ἔγκανστον, χάρτης, πάπυρος, περγάμνην, σηπία, παράγραφος, γραφείον, σχέδιον, ἀπόδειξις, etc., giving the French words: *encre*, *charte*, *papier*, *parchemin*, *seiche*, *paraffe*, *greffe*, *esquisse*, *police*, 'policy,' etc.

The medical art is among the lines of study which have contributed in introducing Greek words into the current language. The physician himself, though he was called a *medicus* at the Merovingian court (OFr. *mire*), was, in the service of the Gothic kings, an ἀρχιατρός (Germ. *Artzt*). The headache was a ἡμικρανία, 'head in two pieces' (Fr. *migraine*), a paralysis a παράλυσις (Wall. *balzin*), a convulsion or fainting a σπασμός (Fr. *se pâmer*, Abruzz. *paseme*, 'whooping-cough'); a cold was a ρεύμα (OIt. *rema*, Prov. *rauma*, Sard. *romadia*), asthma or anguish an ἄσθμα (It. *ansima*, contaminated with *anxius*), gangrene, γάγγραινα (It. *cancrena*, contaminated with *cancer*), quinsy, κυνάγχη (Fr. *esquinancie*); a humor was φλέγμα (Sp. *fleuma*), while patients were ἐκτικοί, 'hectics' (Port. *etego*, Sp. *entecado*), καχεκτικοί (It. *scacchichio*), a word of which *male-habitus* (Fr. *malade*) is but a learned Latinization. Moreover, in the medical apparatus were φάρμακα (Rum.

farmce), φλεβότομοι, 'lancets' (Fr. *flamme*, Sp. *fleme*), ἀποζέματα, 'decoctions' (It. *rocima*), and the surgical art was χειρουργία (OIt. *cirusia*). Moreover, a great many popular names of plants are Greek because those herbs were used in medicine: μύθη (It. *menta*, 'mint'), βλήχων, 'pennyroyal' (It. *poleggio*, by contamination with *pulex*; it produced an oil used in medicine), ζίζυφον (Sp. *jujuba*), ζιγγίβερις (Fr. *gingembre*), ἀρτεμισία (Fr. *armoise*, 'wormwood'), ἀψύθιον (It. *assenzio*), ἀβρότονον, 'southernwood' (Fr. *ivrogne*), ἀθανασία, 'tansy' (Fr. *tanaisie*), λυγυστικόν, 'lovage' (Fr. *livèche*, by contamination with *levis*), μηλόφυλλον (Fr. *millefeuille*, by folk-etymology), γλυκύρριζα (It. *legorizia*, by contamination with *liquor*), ὕσσκάμος, 'henbane' (Fr. *jusquiamé*), κιχώριον (Fr. *chicorée*), χαμαίδρις (Fr. *germandrée*), ἰβίσκος, 'marshmallow' (It. *malva-vischio*, Fr. *guimauve*, by contamination with *viscum*, 'mistletoe'), ἀλιμόν, 'orrah' (It. *alimo*), χελιδόνιον, 'celandine' (OSp. *celidueña*), ἀνηθον, 'anise' (It. *aneto*), etc.

The Greek borrowings are not the only ones having entered the language in groups related to some special field of human activity. The same may be observed in Italic, Keltic, or Germanic borrowings. The words taken over by Latin from some other dialect of Latium or of the Oscan and Umbrian regions are practically all related to agriculture. This is, for instance, the case with the words where Romance has *ē* and Latin *ae*: *fēnum*, 'hay' (Fr. *foin*), *sēpes*, 'hedge' (Sp. *sebe*), *ēsculus*, 'edible oak' (It. *ischio*), *cēpa*, 'onion' (Fr. *cive*, Sp. *ceba*), *sēta*, 'hair of animals' (Fr. *soie*), *sēbum*, 'grease' (Fr. *suif*), instead of Lat. *faenum*, *saepes*, etc. The same may be said of the words with *f* instead of *b*: *bufalus* = *bubalus* (It. *bufalo*), *bifulcus* = *bubulcus*, 'cowboy' (It. *bifolco*), *scarafaius* = *scarabaeus* (It. *scarafaggio*), *tafanus* = *tabanus*, 'horse-fly' (It. *tafáno*), *tufer* = *tuber* (It. *tartufo*, Fr. *truffe*, 'truffle'). Among the oldest examples of *-ellus* for *-ulus* in diminutives, a process which seems to be largely due to Umbrian influence, are *vitellus*, 'calf' (Fr. *veau*), *catellus*, 'young dog' (OIt. *catello*).

The Keltic elements similarly form groups among which the agricultural expressions are the most numerous: *arepen-*

nis, 'acre' (Fr. *arpent*), *olca*, 'arable land' (Fr. *ouche*), *botina*, 'boundary' (Fr. *borne*), *landa*, 'waste land' (Fr. *lande*), *brogilum*, 'park,' 'wood' (Fr. *breuil*; this word is contaminated with Low Gr. *περιβόλιον*),⁶ *blatum*, 'corn' (Fr. *blé*), *gabella*, 'sheaf' (Fr. *javelle*), *socum*, 'plough-share' (Fr. *soc*), *carruca*, 'plough' (Fr. *charrue*), *rusca*, 'beehive' (Fr. *rûche*), *medga*, 'milk' (Fr. *mègue*), *benna*, 'basket' (Fr. *banne*), *cleta*, 'hurdle' (Fr. *claiè*), *meina*, 'ore' (Fr. *mine*), *rocca*, 'rock' (Fr. *roche*), *lausa*, 'flat-stone' (Prov. *lausa*), *marga*, 'marl' (Fr. *marne*), *brennum*, 'clay' (Fr. *brin*), *glisa*, 'loam' (Fr. *glaise*), *nantum*, 'valley' (Savoy. *nant*), *tigernum*, 'summit' (Fr. *terne*, *tiers*, contaminated with *terminus*), *cumba*, 'valley' (Fr. *combe*), *berga*, 'shore' (Fr. *berge*), *brûc-aria*, 'heath' (Fr. *bruyère*), *paramus*, 'flat land' (Sp. *paramo*), etc. There are, moreover, a great many names of plants and animals: *betulla*, 'birch' (Fr. *boule*, *bouleau*), *verna*, 'alder' (Fr. dial. *verne*), *sesca*, 'reed' (Prov. *sesca*, Sp. *jisca*), *berula*, 'watercress' (Fr. *berle*), *ballinca*, 'amelanche' (Prov. *aberlinca*), *alauda*, 'lark' (Fr. *aloue*, *alouette*), *cucullus*, 'cuckoo' (Fr. *coucou*), *beccus*, 'beak' (Fr. *bec*), *vidubium*, 'boar-spear' (Fr. *vouge*), *vannellus*, 'plover' (Fr. *vanneau*), *cattus*, 'cat' (Fr. *chat*).

The Gauls were known in antiquity for their big chariots: *essedæ*, *petorrita* (four-wheelers). The language of driving and travelling received, therefore, in the west of the Roman Empire an indelible Keltic mark: *carrum*, 'a car' (Fr. *char*), with its derivatives *carraria*, *carricare*, *carrare*, *carrellus*, *carritus*, *carriola*, etc.; *carpentum*, 'a cart,' hence Fr. *charpente*, *charpentier*. The horses were *veredi* and *paraveredi* (Fr. *pale-froi*), *caballi* (Fr. *cheval*). The roads were *camina* (Fr. *chemin*), measured in *leugæ* (Fr. *lieue*).

Finally, let us observe that brewing was a Gaulish industry in Roman times, hence the words: Celt. *cervisia*, *cerea*, 'beer,' 'ale' (Fr. *cervoise*), Celt. *brace*, 'barley for beer' (Fr. *brasser*, *brace*), *lega*, 'dregs' (Fr. *lie*).

The Teutonic elements also penetrated into Vulgar Latin through the medium of soldiers' or peasants' speech. The former element, as was to be expected, plays here the promi-

⁶ Wiener, *op. cit.* 13.

nent part. The mercenaries are responsible for most of the early Germanic borrowings in Latin, as *arredare*, *conredare*, 'to equip,' *bandum*, *bandaria*, 'flag,' 'banner,' *burgus*, 'fortress,' *hosae*, 'gaiters,' *suppa*, 'bread for soldiers' soup,' *companio*, 'comrade,' a transcription of Goth. *gahlaiba*, etc.⁷ The topographic language of the north of France has, of course, taken over from the invaders as much as it has given to them. While the Teutons adopted *villare* (Germ. *weiler*), *maceriae* (Germ. *macher*), *castra* (Eng. *chester*), *castellum* (Germ. *cassel*), *campus* (Du. *-camp*), *boscum* (Du. *bosch*, Eng. *bush*; cf. p. 79), *forista* (Du. *vorst*), *vivarius* (Germ. *weier*), *vasta* (Du. *waast*), *bajulus* (Du. *baelen*), *trajectus* (Du. *-tricht*, *-drecht*), *brogilus* (Germ. *brühl*), etc., the new-comers introduced Wall. *trieu* (Du. *driesch*, 'fallow'), Fr. *ham*, *hameau* (Germ. *heim*), Fr. *marche* (Du. *mark*, 'boundary'), Fr. *larris*, 'glade' (Du. *laar*), Fr. *déroder*, 'to assert' (Du. *-rode*, *-rade*), Fr. *haie*, 'hedge,' 'wood' (Du. *haag*), Fr. *fange*, *fagne* (Du. *ven*), 'fen,' 'marsh,' Fr. *mare* (Du. *meer*), 'lake,' Wall. *bais*, *becq*, 'brook' (Germ. *bach*, Du. *beek*), etc.

More on this very important subject of Germanic borrowings would carry us too far away from our subject. The nature of this article is essentially suggestive and it does not aim at giving any exhaustive study of that very promising subject. The lists of examples could easily be made much longer. They are samples, nothing more. We foster the hope, however, that in its present shape, this paper may awaken the interest of Classicists and Romanticists for that new point of view in the study of Vulgar Latin or, more exactly, pre-Romance vocabulary.

⁷ Meyer-Lübke, *Einführung in d. Stud. rom. Sprachw.* 46 sqq.